Batak 005
Sumba OF17
Flores OF9

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[412]

[372 cont.] she presses each stalk against the blade of the knife and collects them in her left hand.

When a piece of land is more or less exhausted after being worked for three or four years, it is abandoned, sometimes for good, and a new piece of land elsewhere is cleared in the same way.

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When land is cultivated after being abandoned for a time, it does not require so much work before planting. The only agricultural implement used in this form of farming is the hoe, in Malayan tjangkoel, in Javanese patjoel. It is generally known by this last name ("patjol").

Where the condition of the land permits, it is worked in a peculiar way. The top layer of soil is turned up by means of large, pointed sticks. A whole row of people, each with a stick in his hand and each at the same time, drives the stick into the earth. All the sticks are then pulled around and the top layer of earth is turned over. This method of working the land is used by the Karo-Batak, on Sumba, and elsewhere. Outside the archipelago it is used on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands southeast of British New Guinea.

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[373] A peculiar form of this primitive agriculture is found on western Flores (Manggarai). Each year the toean tanah (see p. 407) selects a piece of land to be prepared for the ladang, and it is cleared by all the inhabitants of the kampong, who work together from one center, and then divided, like a spiderweb, into plots for cultivation. The spiderweb form is accentuated by the big felled trees that are placed ray-like from a center, while concentric circles of the same trees cut through the rays at definite intervals. According to Meerburg, one of the plots thus fenced off remains at the disposal of its rightful claimant for three years (1).

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[423]

1. Meerburg, "Proeve eener beschrijving van land en volk van Midden-Manggarai [Description of the land and people of Central Manggarai]," Tijdschrift van het Batavian

F 241 [423]

[373 cont.]

Genootschap, Vol. 34 (1891), and H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggaraische Volk," ibid., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 419.

T 243

Although from the technical point of view ladang cultivation is a very simple form of agriculture, the value attached to rice as a food is so great that even this primitive form of agriculture is surrounded by a cycle of religious customs and ceremonies. A description of some of them is given by Kruyt in his account of rice cultivation among the Toradja (2).

2. De Baré'é-sprekende Toradja's, II, pp. 229 ff.

T [174]

Among the Parigi-Kaili group, rice cultivation in wet fields has been practiced for a long time, probably introduced by the Buginese; the Poso-Todjo group, on the other hand, formerly had only dry fields, but since 1907, by Government order, wet fields have been used wherever possible.

Rice cultivation is of such great importance to the Toradja that, according to Kruyt, all their thoughts are concentrated on their rice fields.

As was mentioned in the chapter, "Time Reckoning," the time to begin rice cultivation is indicated by the position of a certain constellation.

T [793]

In everything concerning the cultivation of rice, the tadoelako have a special role. Not only are they the leaders in the field work, knowing more than the others about it, but, what is far more important, they are conversant with the spirits and the ceremonies that have to be observed in connection with rice cultivation. Three kinds of rice fields are distinguished: kawo, the newly cleared forest land; [374] bondé, the fields planted for the second time; and nawoe, a portion of the rice field dedicated to the gods, where all the prescribed ceremonies are faithfully observed. A piece of land with a species of Ficus (F. erecta Thumb) on it is chosen for this; if there is none, a tree

T [782 796]

Ws.

511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have [312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I 511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we 634 were told that it is hard for the mission to 661 make plans here, because every time they get an ●423 improvement, for example, in the land system, 427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land. 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

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622 624 614 796 574 231 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
Cut: Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewato Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753] The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

[727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the
124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 ●423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

[243] They tell such stories when the rice is ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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436 727 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japanese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very 437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

493 [435] No one has a car. No one has ever owned a car here. And no one can drive. Buses are very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

●423 614 622 The owner of all the land is the mosa laki mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan tanah. Each family has its own house and garden land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

[609] There is also undivided kampong land, and this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
592 eldest son is the manager of the family land.
428 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of waste kampong land. Also, if there are too many people for the estate, the men or some of them may work on their wives' families' land. This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too. Some may move off into new houses. Thus the present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and management of the family land. The eldest son is the big man all through the system, and posts descend via the eldest branch all the way down. The younger branches are always underneath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new lineage at any time. Thus there could be a branch-off with Migo, and his sons would be the members. However, they may keep the unit Pega for several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has none, because in his family the pusaka belongs to his brother Pala. However, a father may divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important property unit. Small articles, for example, clothing, may be individually owned, and the suku and even the kampong has property. But the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex here. The women work at agriculture just like

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565 555 the present time. Thus the guru and the assistant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 614 422 565 The only time one can see status marks is at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn. These are made of gold and are now largely lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 565 624 [178] [423] The social order of the individual, family, etc., here has not changed very much. The most direct thing is that only certain folk of the right suku have land rights in the kampong. Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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326 There are about ten smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 177 As before, rice and corn are the staple crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in [433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient. 283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There 291 has been a little change in regard to clothing, especially in that a few men now wear 178 shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 178 437 There has been no change at all in the market system here except for the disappearance of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

● 423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
●423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, [423] etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

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wild plant and animal life as are found on it. It limits the movement of its members on its land. The community right of disposal is never static. It grows and shrinks in relation to the rights of individual members. Changes in social values concerning individual rights affect the strength of communal rights. And outside influences shape the operation of the communal rights in all sorts of ways, to be discussed later.

The general features of the right of disposal in the community are almost universal throughout the islands. Only the Banggai Islanders and the Ngada of Flores seem to offer exceptions.

What then is the basic formulation of the fundamental Indonesian communal right of disposal?

The first feature lies in the interaction of communal and individual rights, mentioned above. When a person puts his individual effort into a piece of land, he creates something of a personal identity of self and soil. To the degree that he intensifies this, it becomes a legal relation, and the powers of the collective community with respect to that particular cultivated field, fish pool, garden, or house compound are reduced. If he neglects his holding or permits its usufruct to lapse through inactivity, then the powers of the community are reestablished, and the community right of disposal is once more freely asserted.

Thus, upon the departure of an individual holder, re-captured fields in South Tapanuli are allotted with usufruct to newcomers or to the poor. In some law-areas, the titles of individual members to their abandoned sawah (cultivated fields) are maintained for a long time against the claim of the community. In Minahasa, the title to a piece of land cleared by individual effort exists in principle in perpetuity. As a result, there is no power of recapture in the community right of disposal. In fact, however, the community in this law-area does exercise the power to bestow temporary usufruct of land on its members even when the title is held by someone else. This also takes place among the Bataks with respect to the sawah of members of the ruling "marga."

In some law-areas the social and spiritual interest of the community in the land is still quite regularly expressed at the opening of the gardening season by community sacrificial rituals under the direction of the community chiefs in the village sanctuary. In the same way, the community relation to the land is present in harvest-time purification rituals and similar ceremonies.

The rights of the community permit individual exploitation of